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593 It is useful to keep these general principles in mind in considering the details to which we must now give our attention. Putting it broadly, the relations of parents and children can be grouped in three general categories: relations of identification; of opposition or contra-identification; and of reciprocity; and the pattern in each individual case is the product of the interaction of these three categories. Our interest will lie chiefly in the structurally significant norms which give coherence and consistency to the multifarious variety of actual behaviour.

The Importance of 'Rearing'

181 We know that Tallensi regard the possession of offspring, particularly of sons, as the supreme purpose of life. To live long enough to see one's sons' children—to 'reach grandchildren (*paa yaas*)' as the natives say—is a gift surpassing all material wealth. Tallensi believe that it is better to die in poverty and leave children than to die childless but rich. We have seen, also, that they hold it to be the ideal of normal parenthood for physiological and social parenthood to coincide. This is more than a question of conferring social status by descent. From the native standpoint the important thing is that a child's natural parents are the right people to rear it, educate it, and control it.

861 Tallensi say that *ughug*, bringing up a child, is as vital a part of parenthood as *dɔŋam*, bearing or begetting. There is a proverb, [538] 'Rearing is more important than bearing (*Ughug n-gaat dɔŋam*)', often [431] quoted when they comment on the devotion of a person to a proxy or foster-parent. This is socially recognized in the obligation to give a 'cow of rearing (*ughug na'ah*)' to a foster-father out of the bride-price cattle received for a foster-daughter by her natural parent or guardian, and for a foster-son, when he returns to his natal home. It is, to be sure, only a moral obligation, but no self-respecting native would evade it. It is a recompense for the troubles the foster-father had to endure in bringing up the child. Tallensi feel strongly that it is not enough to bring a child into the world; one must also bring it up successfully, and that is the hardest part.

593 In spite of reshufflings due to widows remarrying and the instability 855 of early marriages, the majority of Tale children grow up with their natural parents. A census taken in 1934 showed that of 170 children estimated to be under 16 selected at random in one settlement, nearly 78 per cent. were living with their own parents. Approximately 20 per cent. were in the care of one natural parent and one proxy parent, and only 2 per cent. were orphans cared for by more distant kin.

593 Tallensi perceive that the social and personal relationships of a 861 particular parent with his or her children are a result very largely of 829 the way the children are brought up. They stress the influence of individual differences in personality in these relationships. There is always a personal bias in the way people interpret the accepted norms

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It is entertaining to run through a list of Tale open names if one knows the allusions contained in them. Let me quote a few that are derived from proverbs and are known to everybody, though, of course, only the parents and very close kin of the person know what the exact circumstances were that made the saying apposite.

The name YAM-PU-YIIT is the first phrase of the proverb "*Yam pu yiit yapha, ka be la poosi*". The concept *yam* has a wide ambit of meaning. It means wisdom, prudence, commonsense, intelligence, etc. Here it can be translated "counsel" in the sense we give to this word when we speak of "keeping one's own counsel". The proverb can be rendered "Counsel (i. e. judgments about persons and events) does not come out on the surface; it remains in the heart". In other words, a prudent person keeps his own counsel. The man who gave his daughter this name was feeling aggrieved over the intrigues of a rival, but prudence dictated doing nothing other than obliquely giving out his feelings in the naming of his child. The sentiment is very characteristic of Tale values. Tallensi are anything but submissive in the face of rivalry or scorn; but to be carried away by resentment and to act rashly are thought to be foolish, in such circumstances.

"*Nipam n-di*" is another characteristic Tale proverb that I came across in a name. It is a good example of the puritan streak in Tale values. It means, more or less literally, "persevere and (you will have enough) to eat", perseverance here carrying the implication of hard work and frugality. It was the name given to his son by a man who was proud of having begun life as a very poor man but of having prospered by hard work and frugality.

A saying reminiscent of our maxim that hard words do not break bones is "*yel pu kura*", literally: "a telling (off) doesn't kill". I knew a youth called YEL-PU-KURA, but did not ascertain why he was so called.

A final example is the name ZAŋ, to seize, take, grasp. This monosyllabic name was the abbreviation of a proverb "*Salmsaa yie, gum zaŋ pu ts*", that is, "The ant says, gather together and take hold of it, that is not hard". In other words, a task that is too hard for the individual to accomplish if he is alone can be done with the co-operation of many. This is an exhortation for kin and friends to help one another.

And now a few more instances of names that document events in family history and incidents of a personal nature.

DIM-BƆRƆGYA, enmity has vanished, commemorates a reconciliation between the child's father and his father-in-law.

BA-KYEL-MARIB, let them stop being responsible for me, was the name Saandi gave to his first born daughter after he left his father's brother and started to farm for himself.

YAAN-BƆRƆGYA, honour has departed, was the name given to a man after the tendaanaship which his father had held passed, on the latter's death, to another branch of the lineage.

SABAALUG, iron peg, DOK, pot, BAYANA, a species of tree, are names that refer to different kinds of medicine shrines acquired by the fathers at the time the children were born.